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A N

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F O R A

Late RESIGNATION:

I N

A LETTER from an *English*
GENTLEMAN to his FRIEND at
the *Hague*.

Culpari metuit Fides.

HOR.

The SECOND EDITION, corrected.



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REPORT

1948

THE UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

DEPARTMENT OF CHEMISTRY
ANN ARBOR, MICHIGAN

RESEARCH REPORT

NO. 1

1948

BY

J. H. ...



A N

A P O L O G Y

F O R A

Late Resignation, &c.

S I R;



INCE you are so desirous to know why my Lord has made it his Choice to quit the S——'s O——e, and to retire from Business at so delicate a Crisis as this, I shall make no Difficulty to comply with your Request. — But then how great will be your Surprize, when I set out with a Declaration, That the same Event which gives you so much Pain, gives me as much Pleasure?

A 2

And

And that however warmly and sincerely both you and I have wish'd to see him in a Station as eminent as his Abilities, I have since as sincerely and warmly wish'd, that he had never suffer'd himself to be ensnar'd into such a Station, without a Sufficiency of Power or Favour to render those Abilities useful to his King and Country.

And that neither of these fell to his Share, I shall render manifest by a Chain of undeniable Facts: As also, that, as long as he continued to act *under* Those, who, with equal Absurdity and Disingenuity, at once, made it their Business to decry and support the Measures of the Cab—t, instead of *gracing* his Office he was *disgrac'd* by it; and, that, consequently, the only Method he could take to retrieve his Character was to turn his Back on such Company.

Tho' you are no Stranger to my Lord's Sentiments concerning the ruinous War which is still raging on the Continent, it is necessary, for Method's sake, that I should put you in Mind of his Conduct in Parliament relating to it, in the Year 43, and 44; when he, so
freely

freely and fatally, foretold the Calamities which it would bring upon this Nation in case we persisted on pushing it on at so vast an Expence, and under so wild a Management; and that if *Holland* should ever be induc'd, or oblig'd to become a Joint-Adventurer in the same Project, her Sufferings would be so much the greater, as she was more expos'd to the Strength and Fury of the Enemy.

And thus much having been premis'd, the Point that lies next before us in order of Time, is the famous Treaty of *Co-alition*, or as it was call'd more familiarly, the *Broad-Bottom* Treaty. This, it is true, had been in Agitation some Time before; but as it was not perfected till the Close of the Year 44, it is not to be esteem'd a Measure, till it had taken Effect.

At the Meetings held upon this Occasion, the *P—m*-Party were pleas'd to adopt the pacific Sentiments of his Lordship above-mention'd; and expressly desir'd the Assistance of him and his Associates in Parliament, and their Concurrence at Court, to drive out the *Common Enemy* under these Pretences; That
 he,

he, the said *Common Enemy*, had got Possession of the R—l E—r, by advising the War, and by persevering in that fatal Measure; and that on the contrary, their Views and Purposes had ever been to get rid of it at any Rate, and that, as soon as they found themselves strong enough for the Experiment, they would not fail to take Advantage of the Clamours of the People, their Inability to support the Expence, and the Backwardness of *Holland* to act as Principals in the Quarrel, to prevail with his M— to change his Measures as well as his Ministers.

Thus instead of his Lordship's going first to Court, he had the Satisfaction to find the Court desirous of coming to him. At least he could not but think, that this was a very considerable Advance towards it. And as he was far from being intractable, as he knew the Court too well to insist on too many Points at once, before he had got any Ground there to warrant his farther Endeavours; and as it belonged more properly to the Gentlemen of the House of Commons than to him to opiniatre those other Points, which they had so often under-

undertaken to procure, in Behalf of the Constitution, he thought fit to close with the *P* — *ms* on this Proposition; because the Purpose it was to answer, so nearly answered his own.

The Coalition being thus made, the next great Point was to obtain the Fruits of it, by *persuading* his *M* — to give up the War: But when that came under Consideration, the whole Cabal affected to entertain such a Distrust of their own Abilities, that not one would make Trial of them in so desperate a Service. The only Method that remained then, was to raise such Difficulties and Discouragements in the Prosecution of the War, so to prepare his *M* — for an unprosperous Issue; and to make such an Use of that Issue when it actually arriv'd, as should, by Degrees, put him out of Conceit with his own favourite Measure, and the Person who became a Favourite by espousing it.

But though this was the Expedient agreed upon, it was also agreed, to use such Language in the *C-b---* as should lead his *M* — into a Belief, that they were as thoroughly devoted to his Will
and

and Pleasure, as the M——r whom they had oblig'd him to part with.

Accordingly, They made no Difficulty to assure his M—— That they were not only ready to take up the Pursuit where he had left it off, but that by the Dint of their superior Address, they had prevail'd with their new Allies to do the same: And in practising this Fraud upon their R-y-l M-s--r, we are to suppose them sufficiently justified, because it was the only Course they could take to their own Journey's End: And because they could no otherwise induce him to forget the Violence he had undergone, or to bear with Patience the *new Faces* which they had surrounded him with.

Having succeeded thus far, their next Endeavour was to reconcile his M——y as far as it appear'd convenient for their Interests, to the Person of my Lord: And the Method they chose to follow was by representing, 1st, the Necessity of sending an E——r to H--- to settle amongst other Things, the Quotas which their H—— M—— were to furnish, and which, to the great Discontent of the Nation, had been hitherto totally neglected:

glected: And, *Secondly*, the Expediency of employing his Lordship in that Affair, as being of all Men the most popular on *our* Side of the Water, and the most welcome on *Yours*: But more especially as his Lordship's Acceptance of that Employ would be understood by the World as an Argument, that he had undergone a political *Regeneration*, and that he was not only satisfied with his M—— Measures, but ready to further them to the utmost of his Power.

But, plausible as these Suggestions were, it must be own'd, his M——y was not over easily prevail'd upon to admit them as the Rule of his Conduct: On the contrary, he demurr'd for some Time; and when he did at last comply, it was in such a Way, as serv'd to shew, that it was rather to be rid of the *Importunity*, than for the Sake of the *Recommendation*.

This apparent Reluctance on his Side, did not, however, mortify our M——rs so much as their Successes pleas'd them: Delicacy of Sentiment having no Place in their System, they were satisfy'd with carrying their Point, without once re-
B
flecting

flecting on the Means they had us'd, the Displeasure they had given, or the Resentment they had incurr'd. Politicians of the first Rank they now appear'd in their own Eyes; and in truth, to little Minds like theirs, it might very well seem strange, that they should find Ability enough to master the Passions of a great ———, and to make a Dupe of the most eminent Wit of the Age: And, surely, he could never have been induc'd to act under their Instructions, or seem to give the least Countenance to a Plan which he had so openly condemn'd, if he had not flatter'd himself, that the Difficulty of talking *Frenchified Dutchmen* out of their Prejudices, or any *Dutchman* into Sentiments of Generosity and Disinterestedness, would have weary'd out our Expectations at home; and that Disappointment upon Disappointment would at length have convinced us of the Folly of pursuing an unsuccessful War, and brought us back to a right Sense of our true Interest.

For the M ———rs, I will be bold to say, That they never once desir'd his Negotiations should have Success: On the contrary, they were so far true to their *Broad-Bottom* Engagements that they pur-

purpos'd only to gain Time, to be furnish'd with Matter of Complaint against the *Dutch*, and to be enabled from thence to draw such Inferences as might dispose his — to put an end to the War.

But an unforeseen and unexpected Incident for this once broke their Measures, and produc'd such an Alteration in the Face of Affairs, that they thought fit to alter their Conduct with it : For, in a few Days after his Lordship's Arrival at the *H—*, Intelligence was receiv'd of the Emperor's Death ; and a new Field of Enterprize being thereby open'd to the sanguine Projectors of the Times, both Nations were easily induc'd to redouble their Efforts, in hope to derive suitable Advantages from this great Event. His R. H. the D. was appointed Commander in Chief ; and by the indefatigable Industry, and refin'd Address of his Lordship, their *H— M—*s were induc'd to compliment his R. H. with the like Pre-eminence over the Troops of the Republic : And this was the most acceptable Service that his Lordship was able to accomplish, during the Time of his *E—y*. Some other
Points

Points he also made a Shift to settle, but not on such a Footing as he desir'd, or as the Nation had a Right to expect; or as would have been granted by the *Dutch* themselves, had they been sincerely and heartily dispos'd to co-operate in the War.

When, therefore, his Lordship return'd, with the Merit of having done all the little Good that was done, or could be done, he had a Right to require his *new Allies*, to take Advantage of the Experiment he had made, and the Impossibility which appear'd of bringing the *Dutch* to Reason; as also, agreable to their Stipulations, to make Use of their Omnipotence to bring about a Peace—And, surely they had now very sufficient Reasons to assign, by way of Colour, for their so doing. The *Dutch*, they might have alledg'd, had been every Way tried by one of the most able Men in *Europe*, and one who had the most Interest in them: That, nevertheless, all his Pains and all his Address had been thrown away, and they had been found inaccessible to every Consideration, but such as regarded their own immediate Interests: That as a new Emperor would be
chose

chose in *October*; as the most effectual Measures had been taken to turn the Scale of Election once more in Favour of the House of *Austria*; as an Equivalent for *Silesia*, was to be look'd upon as the most romantical of all the *State-Quixotisms* of these *Quixot-Times*; as *England* lay under no visible Obligation to procure, or to assist in procuring any such Equivalent; and as every Pretence of that kind, ought to be resolv'd into the wild and drunken Promise of a wild and drunken M——r, no tolerable Reason could be urg'd for continuing the Quarrel any longer.—

This was the Language they might and ought to have used at this Crisis; instead of which they put a Stop to his Lordship's farther Remonstrances, by sending him out of the Way to *I——d*: And when *Cape Breton* was taken by the *New-Englanders*, assisted by Sir *Peter Warren*, a double Portion of the late Favourite's Spirit seem'd to have taken Possession of those who had ejected him: Nothing would now satisfy them but the keeping the Conquest they had so unexpectedly made, and which in the most flourishing State of our Affairs, *France* would

would scarce have suffered: The Coldness of the Climate; the Expence of the Garrison and Fortifications; the little Likelihood that in *Twenty* Years the Profits of the Place would balance the Cost of *One*, were then never so much as mention'd: On the contrary, a certain noble D—, at that Time the Protector of it, in the Ardour of his Zeal, was pleas'd to declare, *That if France was Master of Portsmouth, he would hang the Man who should give up Cape-Breton in Exchange for it.*

In a Word, this was the Stile which our steady M——rs were pleas'd to use during that whole Year, tho' his M——y was absent, tho' a Rebellion rag'd in the Bowels of the Kingdom, and tho' the Dangers and Mischiefs arising from it, through their own Negligence, or Animosities, or ——y, call'd aloud, the one for Remedies, the other for Prevention; to which a Treaty seem'd to be the most natural and easy Road.

All, indeed, were not of the same Mind; his Lordship from *I——d*, and L--- *H——n* here, till the very Moment that he surrender'd the S——'s S--ls were

were continual Advocates for Peace; and were only considered as so much the worse Courtiers on one Hand, and met with evasive Answers on the other.

But tho' they were thus backward to fulfil their Engagements to their *New Allies*, and so fearful to unmask, and shew their *true Complexion* in the C---t, a Crisis, at last, arriv'd, when for a Measure of their own, in the midst of a S-----n, when the whole Service of the succeeding Year was at Stake, they insulted the ——— with Resignation upon Resignation, and by the Dint of Distress, obliged him to surrender almost at Discretion.

This was call'd a factious Measure by some, who compar'd it to the Violence offer'd to their Kings by the Barons of old; and was universally condemn'd by all, when it appear'd, That the Public had no concern in the Dispute; that instead of obtaining a second *Magna Charta* to bespeak the Favour and good Will of the People, they had only made a new Provision for themselves and their Creatures; and that the same Men were employ'd, and the same Measures pursued as before.

Yes

Yes, Sir, after the Ferment had lasted three Days, every Man resum'd his Post and proceeded as before; that is to say, they continued to grumble at the War, and yet continued to support it; they retarded every Operation in debating the Expediency of it, yet agreed to all at last; but so late, and in such a Manner as seldom fail'd to render all ineffectual; which will serve to account in a good Degree, for the Loss of the Battle of *Rancour*, and the feeble Attempts which were made towards a Diversion; by the Allies, on the Side of *Provence*, and by ourselves on that of *Brittany*; which were the Sum of our Exploits in the Year 46.

But I cannot dismiss the last of these Undertakings without laying before you some Particulars which may be necessary, to justify the Hints which I have dropt in the preceding Paragraphs.

When the *Broad-Bottom-Treaty* was concluded, the only Stipulation in favour of the Public, was comprehended in two Words, *English Measures*; which were understood to mean, an *English Peace*: And to this the noble
D....

D---, who was at the Head of the *old* M---rs, had explicitly agreed, as well as his B---r: But by this Time, his G--- had discover'd, that tho' he had got Possession of the C-b--t, he could not be easy in it, unless he offer'd up the same Incense, which the late *Favourite* had done before him; and as *Favour* was the sole Object he had in View, he resolv'd to follow it the nearest Way. What, therefore, his B---r unwillingly submitted to, and often protested against, he openly espous'd and sedulously promoted, to the Extent of his Credit and Abilities: And with such Success, that the *new* M---rs (his Lordship excepted, who was still in *I---d*) thought it their wisest Way, to *trim* between their *present Interest* and their *former Professions*; that is to say, to substitute what they call'd an *English War* instead of an *English Peace*.

Accordingly, they propos'd sending a Squadron of our Men of War, together with a Body of our Foot, to reduce *Canada*, in Concert with another Body of Forces that were to be rais'd in his M---'s *American Colonies*; which they undertook to shew, would give the finishing

Stroke to the *French* Interest and Commerce in those Parts, and thereby render the War as serviceable to the People, as it was agreeable at C — t.

But this sage Proposal of theirs, (which by the way, was utterly inconsistent with the Basis of the *Coalition*;) was not made till the Beginning of *April*; whereas the Squadron ought to have been at Sea before the End of *March*: And when made, was to be debated by a motley Cabal of *new* and *old* M——rs, Soldiers, Scamen and Lawyers; Men of different Factions, different Interests, and irreconcilable Understandings: In consequence of which, such a Multiplicity of Meetings were held; what had been once settled with great Difficulty, was so easily unsettled; so much Time was spent in Scolding, and so little Effect did this Scolding produce, that, thank *God* and contrary Winds, the *Folly* of the Advisers and Directors, sav'd us from the *Folly* of the Expedition, and possibly prevented such another Sacrifice, as might have countenanced that of *Carthagena*.

The

The new M——rs, however, to the last, insisted on having *their Folly* as well as the *Old*, insomuch, that when the Month of *September* came, and hardly any Thing but Disappointments and Destruction could have been the Consequence of the Adventure, they continued to roar out, *Canada!* as before, and to maintain, That since they had given way to the War, they had a Right to set apart one Province of it to themselves. And this they did in a vain Imagination, That the People would mistake an *additional* Measure for a Change of Measures; and continue to be their Dupes as formerly, tho' they saw the War not only continued, but continued in a madder Way than ever.

Indeed, it may be admitted in their Behalf, that since the *old* M——rs, in Breach of the *Broad-Bottom-Treaty*, and all their own reiterated Professions, had chose to make their Court, by adopting the War on the very Plan they had so much decry'd, and had establish'd their Ascendancy thereby -- They (the *New*) had no other Resource, than to give such a Turn to the Conduct of it, as should render it as palatable to their own Consciences,

sciences, or rather to the Expectations they had rais'd, as the Humour of the C——t would allow.

But, as we have seen, this Refinement only serv'd to expose the fluctuating State of our Politics: For as the —— himself would never have given Way to the removing so considerable a Body of Troops so far out of Reach, so neither would his R——l H——s the D—— have willingly consented to a Measure, which must have weaken'd his Efforts in the next Campaign.

There was, therefore, a Necessity for the *New M——rs* in this Instance, to truckle to the *Old*; but while the Controversy lasted, the Troops were harass'd and the Officers perplex'd with Orders and counter-Orders, with Embarkations and Debarkations; and when the Public had given over all Attention to an Object so variable, of a sudden both Parties agreed in an Expedient, which was not only to *save Appearances*, but to wipe out the Miscarriages of the Year, by making an Addition to our national Stock of Glory. This was the Expedition to *Britanny*, which was spawned out of
the

the Abortion of the other; and what the Event was I have no need to specify; some Windows were broke on the *French* Side, some Heads on ours; and as to the Glory in Question, instead of acquiring any from the Enemy, we left the little we had behind us.

Such a Series of Inconsistencies in Council, and Misadventures in Action, one would have thought would have open'd every Eye, and affected every Heart; and yet except Lord *H-----n*, not one of the *M-----rs*, *old* or *new*, seem'd at all affected by it: He, like a wise and honest *Englishman*, perceiving, that he was not in the *Secret* of his *own* Office, and being convinced, that it was out of his Power to prevent the Ruin he foresaw, refus'd to serve any longer with a Collegue, who, with Abilities far inferior to those of his Predecessor, out-ran him in the same desperate Course; and after a suitable Remonstrance, besought and obtain'd his Dismission from the Ca—t.

Had his Example been follow'd by other C—t C—rs, who affected to entertain the same Sentiments, it is probable that the versatile *D---*, who had veer'd
from

from Peace to War, would have thought it advisable, to have veer'd again from War to Peace. But those who had so implicitly follow'd the two B——rs, on *factious* Considerations *only*, could not prevail on themselves to stir a single Step for the Sake of the *Public*: Even Mr. P——, who had refus'd to rush *headlong* with his G—— into the War, and still express'd all imaginable Regard for his former Engagements, did not chuse to *resign* for the Sake of *Peace*; but plead'd in Excuse, his Attachment to his B——r, as what ought to out-weigh every other Consideration.

As, therefore, their Family-Connections held them so inseparably united, that as long as one was in the Wrong, the other resolv'd not to be in the Right, it was necessary for them to agree at last, in filling up the Vacancy, which L——d H—— had made, with all possible Expedition. The *Favourite* that Both apprehended so much, was still within Call, and there was no body in the whole Kingdom so fit to out-weigh him in all Respects, as my Lord C——: My Lord C—— was therefore pitch'd upon; and for *this once*, both the B——rs were of a Mind; tho'

tho' for different Reasons: The Younger expected in him a firm Ally, and an able Assistant to forward the great Work of Peace when Time should serve: The Elder was sufficiently convinc'd how utterly impossible it was for him, with all his Art and Address, to supplant him in his new-acquir'd Favour; and Both flatter'd themselves, that by admitting him into their Co-partnership they should partake of his Popularity: For, tho' the People could not discover that they had deriv'd the smallest Advantage from the *Coalition*, they were far from imputing their Disappointment to his L——p; on the contrary, among all the Sub-Divisions of a divided Party, none made the least Exception to the Choice which had been made: And as to the People in general, so complete was their Satisfaction and so intemperate their manner of expressing it, that the only Difficulty which lay upon his L——p was to answer the Expectations his Merit had rais'd.

That, indeed, his L——p should quit an Employment of the most Ease, Dignity, Lustre and Profit in the whole Establishment, which he had fill'd in so amiable a Manner, as had procur'd him
not

not only the Love but almost the Adoration of the People committed to his Charge, to assist in piloting a Ship so leaky, so ill rigg'd, mann'd and officer'd, and expos'd to the Fury of such a Storm, created Wonder in some: But then this very Wonder drew along with it additional Compliments to his matchless Merit; for it was always reply'd, That he could have no other Motive for making such an Exchange but the Pleasure and the Glory of saving a sinking State.

And this, no doubt, was his real Motive, tho' he had not the good Fortune to fulfil his Purpose, or to explain it by any such signal Action as might put the Matter of Fact out of the Reach of Controversy or Cavil.

I have, at least, sufficient Authority to assure you, Sir, That he accepted of this new Office on the same Principle that he concluded the *Broad-Bottom* Negotiation; for the Sake of delivering his poor Country out of the Hands of the Destroyer, and of expediting a safe and honourable Peace.

This, I say, was still the great Object of his Attention; but then he had scarce
taken

taken Possession of his Office, before he was more than ever convinc'd of the great Difficulty of attaining it: For his Colleague with his usual Moderation, had reserv'd the Power of filling up all the Employments in his L—p's Department as well as his own: And as to the young, ambitious, notable Pl-n--o-- at the H---, which was the great Center of all Negotiation, tho' he had once followed his L—p as his acknowledged Leader, and the Naval D--- as his acknowledged Friend, he had by this Time set up for himself, and manifested, that he had no Attachment but to Power, and to those who had the largest Share of it to distribute: His secret Correspondence with his G---- of N-----, tho' he was in the Province of L--d H-----, and the just Offence it gave to his L—p, were no Secrets to the World: The Declararations he had formerly made against the War, which were deliver'd with more Warmth, and in stronger Terms, than those of any other *Mal-content*, were now forgot; and if any impertinent Monitor put him in mind of them, he made no Difficulty to say, That as both the Object and Measures were chang'd, he had a Right to change his Opinion; which was just as conclusive

as if he had said, That, as long as he continued to follow a D---, it was no matter whether it was he who presided at *Sea*, or he who directed by *Land*: In short, no Principles could fix him, no Friendship could hold him, no Sense of Gratitude could bind him; and for all these Reasons, my Lord resolved not to trust him.

That, however, he might not be wanting in his Duty to his — and Country, nor lose Sight of any Opportunity to facilitate his great Point, he sent over to the H---- a *Dependent* of his own, on *whom* he could rely, with proper Instructions; and, in the mean Time, apply'd all the Art and Address he was master of, to cultivate a proper *Disposition* at home.

But all his Art and Address, tho' diversified into a greater Variety of Shapes and Colours than the *Proteus* of the Poets was suppos'd capable of assuming, were without Effect: The hot Fit still rag'd at Court, and every Medicine of every Kind was rejected; for no Vehicle, no Gilding could render them grateful.

His R—— H—— the D—— was again sent over to *Holland*, to settle the Operations of the Campaign: The Troops to be employ'd in it, upon *Paper*, amounted to 140,000 Men: The necessary Conventions were soon adjust- ed: And thus the new S——y was hur- ry'd away by the Torrent, into the very Measure which he had most oppos'd, most disapprov'd, and which it was most his Study to terminate: But then he did not fail to protest against it in the strong- est Terms: He had also the Consolati- on, to be assur'd by the whole Cabal, That if this one Effort more did not prove effectual, it should be the last; and that they would accept the next Offers which either *France* or *Spain* should make: And it was not unknown to him, that a sort of Negotiation with the last of these Powers, was then de- pending, and had been so, for above half a Year before.

It was in this Manner, Sir, the Winter pass'd over; and as the Spring came for- ward, the Year itself was not so forward as our Hopes: We were first in the Field, and had a fair Opportunity of snatching some considerable Advantage be- fore

fore the Enemy cou'd have been in a Condition to oppose us. But Advantages in the Field were, it seems, what was most apprehended by those who had the Management of the R-v---e at home: They were not only for a Peace upon *any Terms*, but by *any Means*; and were wholly indifferent whether it arose by the Ruin of their *Friends* or their *Foes*. Agreeable, therefore, to these equally strange and destructive Notions, they tr--che—fly made it their Business to starve the Cause they undertook to support: For, according to the ridiculous Oeconomy of the present Times, which consists in saving Hundreds and wasting Thousands, so ridiculously thrifty were the Contracts they made, and so scantily were the Magazines supplied, that this Army, which in the Beginning of *April* was strong enough to act offensively, was disabled from acting at all, till it was too late to do so, except at their own Expence.

And what was the calamitous Event? Why the *Dutch*, either in Despair of Succour, or in Conformity to the *factious* Purposes of those who were *then* uppermost, or perhaps instigated alike by their Partisans, both in *E—* and *France*,
became

became *Felo de se*; and with a Treachery not to be parallell'd in History, deliver'd up part of their Country to their Enemies, to be aveng'd of their *Friends*; and, as you know, were on the Point of concluding a *Neutrality* for the Rest, if the People had not come to a Resolution to provide for their own Safety, by declaring the Prince of *Orange Stadtholder*.

And such a Turn did that great, seasonable and important Incident give to the Face of Affairs, that, if the Abilities of our C-b—t M——rs had been equal to the Management of it, or if they had embrac'd any Principle of Union which might have enabled them to exert *such* Abilities as they had; or if the Action of *La Valle* had not happen'd, or had prov'd fortunate to the Allies; or even if a sensible Use had been made of our Misfortune, this Campaign had been the last of the War: And my Lord would have had the supreme Satisfaction, of contributing to the Re-establishment of the Peace, on a solid and lasting Basis.

I am sensible, that some of these Particulars require an Explanation: But you must excuse me, if I do not enter into

a Discussion of the Action itself; or whether it was worth while to run the Risque of such a Misfortune; whether it would not have been more eligible to lye on the Defensive, and to make it the great Object of the Residue of the Campaign to cover *Maestricht* and *Bergen-Op-Zoom*; and if I confine all I have to say on those Heads, to what *follow'd* the Action, and the Opportunity thereby thrown in our Way, to bring the War to a happy Issue, which had hitherto produced nothing but Unhappiness, tho' conducted at different Times, by the Two Pr---n---s, who had alone been thought worthy of the Trust, by the common Voice of the Allies.

It is known to all *Europe*, that General *Legonier* was made a Prisoner at *La Valle*; but not so universally, how much Honour he acquir'd in Exchange for his Liberty: It has been said, That he ow'd his Misfortune to his Rashness: And it must be own'd, that a Man who with but Thirty Squadrons ventures to charge One Hundred and Fifty, does, at first Sight, seem liable to such an Imputation: But the Characters of Actions cannot be fairly given, unless a due Regard

gard be shewn to the Circumstances which attend them. Now the whole Body of Infantry under the Command of his R— H— the D—, were expos'd to the Fury of these Hundred and fifty Squadrons, and nothing but the desperate Attack in Question, could have sav'd them from being cut to Pieces; or secur'd the Person of his R— H—; or preserv'd *Maestricht*; which had otherwise fallen into the Hands of the Enemy the same Evening: Whereas they were so surpriz'd, and so disorder'd by the Diversion which the General had thus gallantly and seasonably made, that, his R— H— had sufficient Time to recover *Maestricht*, and to post his Troops in Safety, on the other Side of the *Meuse*.

You will pardon this Digression, I hope, Sir: Less would not have been sufficient to disculpate the brave Man I am speaking of; and much more would scarce be sufficient to do him Justice: Nor have I taken the Hint to discourse of him merely in his own Capacity of a Soldier; but also, as the Catastrophe of that Day made him a principal Actor in a Scene of a very different Kind; which
I am

I am now going to display, and which in the Issue, will likewise serve to display the Perfidy of the two B——rs with whom my Lord C———d was so unhappily connected.

When the Action was over, General *Legonier* was presented, with all the Regard that was due to his Rank and Merit, to the Most Christian King by the Count *de Saxe*; and, among many other gracious and condescending Things, which his Majesty had the Goodness to say upon that Occasion, he was pleas'd to ask, in a Stile and Manner becoming so great a Prince, When he might hope to obtain Peace from the King his Sovereign? As also, whether *E——d* was not as yet weary of the Burden she had taken upon her Shoulders? Insinuating, withal, That it was more than Time she should; since she alone was at the Expence of all; and yet of all the Allies, none fought but his Maj——'s Royal and Electoral Subjects: And, lastly, he dismiss'd him with a Signification to this Effect, That the Count *de Saxe*, and the Duke *de Noailles*, should confer with him more particularly on the same Subject.

Accordingly, the very next Day, the Conference, so promis'd, was held; and the two Generals above-named gave him to understand, That it was the King's Pleasure, he should be sent back to his R—l H—— upon his Parole, with a Proposal to this Effect, That his Majesty was willing to declare the Peace at the Head of the Two Armies, as soon as the necessary Powers from *England* could be obtain'd, on the following Conditions, viz.

On the Part of *France*.

To acknowledge the Emperor; and to return all *Flanders*, except *Furnes*, in case we insisted on the Demolition of *Dunkirk*; or together with *Furnes*, in case we consented, that *Dunkirk* should continue in its present State.

And on the Part of the Allies.

That *England* should restore *Cape-Breton*: And the Empress and the King of *Sardinia*, provide an Establishment for Don *Philip*:

The *French* Generals adding, That the King did not insist on a splendid one; and that what they did insist on was to be considered in no other Light, than as a Salvo for their Master's Honour.

Now one would have thought, that in the Circumstances we were reduc'd to, these Conditions would have been thought reasonable enough by any Set of People who had not quite lost their Senses, or who even affected to have any Regard to their former Declarations: And yet, after they had been debated a thousand Times over, in his M——'s C-b--t, and in the C-b--t of every one of the M——rs, and Sub-M---rs, they were finally referr'd to a Congress, for the same Reason that mysterious Points of Faith are referr'd to general Councils; that is to say, to be fritter'd away in Squables without End.

What is still more astonishing, even the Loss of *Bergen-op-Zoom*, made no Abatement in our Phrenzy; on the contrary, we invited over a great Nobleman from *H——d*, who was equally touch'd with the same Disease, and, Hand over Head, form'd a new Concert with him for the ensuing Year, wearing, indeed, a more formidable Face than that of the Year preceding, because reinforc'd with many additional Legions, which, by their uncouth Names, might be very easily mistaken for *Lucifer's* Body-Guards, but encumber'd also with an additional Charge; which

which we had already articted to defray, tho' they should never reach the Scene of Action; or, at least, not till the *United Provinces* were lost; and our national Troops, with his R---- H—— at their Head, were on their March towards the *Elbe*, there to embark for *England*, and never to revisit the Continent any more.

My Lord, however, did not fail to remonstrate, as before, against this fatal Obstinacy, nor to challenge the Performance of the Promises which had been made him, nor to manifest, as well to his *Colleague* in particular, as to the C-b---t in general, That they would be held inexcusable in letting slip this great Opportunity: That, they were never to hope for a Better, tho' they should repeat the same frantic Experiment for ten Years to come: That in all Probability, every such Repetition, would redouble our Difficulties and Dangers: That tho' *Holland* should, at last, incline to cooperate in earnest, they had demurr'd till we were exhausted: That having done so much already without the Assistance of the *Dutch*, they could neither wonder nor complain, that we did no more:

That,

That for his Part, he had undertaken to assist in carrying on the War, only for *one* Campaign, or till either *France* or *Spain* should be brought to Reason: And that he would take Care to be no longer answerable for the Issue of a Measure, which he had never approv'd.— To all which his G^t was pleas'd to answer, with all that Composure, Deliberation, and Solidity, which is so natural to him.

“ We must stay to see what *Spain* will
 “ do.—The Thing most to be wish'd,
 “ is a separate Peace with that Crown.—
 “ If *France* and *Spain* were once to se-
 “ parate, the Breach could never be
 “ clos'd.—It would be the *greatest Stroke*
 “ that *France* ever receiv'd.—A M—r's
 “ Conduct ought not to regard Months
 “ or S—f—ns only, but all Futurity.—
 “ I would have mine try'd by that Stan-
 “ dard only.—And I expect to have the
 “ Blessings of my Country for it.— Yet,

Thus an Overture is no sooner made by *France*, than we are led, in a surprizing Manner, back to the Negotiation with *Spain*, which I touch'd upon above, and which it is now necessary to explain more at large. The

The Person by whose Means a Correspondence had been open'd with the Court of *Madrid*, was a *Spanish* Gentleman residing in this Capital, whose Fortune in Part resembled that of a late great Minister, whom I have had frequent Occasion to allude to: For at the same Time that he had the Honour to be a sort of Favourite to his present C——M——y, he had the Misfortune to labour under a public Disgrace: Of his Abilities, his Depth, his Sagacity, his Prudence, and all his other eminent Qualifications for a Negotiator, I need not enlarge; for he himself has sufficiently expos'd them to the whole World: And yet on this Reed did our all-sufficient M——rs chuse to rest *the whole* Weight of this Affair: On all Emergencies relating to *Spain*, he was consulted; on all Points whatever, his Advice was follow'd; and yet, tho' no visible Success accompanied his Endeavours, and all the Produce of his Credit at *Madrid*, amounted to no more than a ceremonious Letter now and then from some great Man or other, signifying a great Willingness to promote a Peace, without any Power to bring it about; so great was their Credulity, so little their Penetration, that they appeared perfectly satisfy'd with them.

At length, however, without any Providence, or even Foresight of theirs, the Prospect mended a little on that Side: For, by the Connivance of *France*, and with a Permit, in the Shape of a Pass-port, from the Count *de Saxe*, arrived here one Mr. *Wall*, an *Irish* Major General in the *Spanish* Service, and produc'd Powers to open a Treaty with us in form.

And now, after such ardent Longings express'd by our M——rs, for a Peace with *Spain*, such unreserv'd Declarations of the Utility of that Measure, such a Coldness shewn to the Offers of *France* on that Account, and such florid Pretences so to pursue the Welfare of the present, as to deserve the Blessings of all future Ages, one would have imagin'd, that Mr. *Wall* and his Proposals would have been receiv'd like an Angel from Heaven with a New Revelation: Instead of which he had the Mortification to be told, by the same Person who had talk'd in so pompous a Strain before, That we could do nothing without our Allies: And yet farther, when he spoke of the Establishment of Don *Philip*, That in lieu of the Cessions to be made
by

by the Empress-Queen, and the King of *Sardinia*, for that End, *Spain* must admit her Imperial Majesty to the Possession of *le Terre delle Presidie*, and also the King of *Sardinia* to that of the *Riviera de Tonant*: To which *Wall*, like an honest Man, briskly reply'd, "That
 " his Master could not in Honour com-
 " ply with that Demand; nor would be
 " induc'd to give up his Allies any more
 " than we.

Thus, Sir, the Negotiation so much desir'd, and which dropt so unexpectedly into our very Mouths, as one may say, was at a Stand almost as soon as open'd! And our wise and able M—rs had no better Expedient at Hand to keep it depending by Way of Amusement, than to commit their Concern in it, to the Management of the Gentleman, who had serv'd them so ably, and so successfully before. Whence it follow'd, ridiculously enough, that as a *British*-born Subject was employ'd to negotiate the Interests of *Spain* at the *British* Court, so a native *Spaniard*, was employ'd by that Court to negotiate the Interests of *Great Britain*.

The Affair, however, succeeded no better under this Direction, than it had done before : The Two Agents had many Meetings, and after as many Debates, could agree in nothing, but to refer a State of the Points in Controversy to the Court of *Madrid*, which was done accordingly : And, in consequence thereof, *Wall* received full Powers to sign upon the following Conditions; namely,

That *England* should prevail with her Allies, either to cede *Parma* and *Placentia* to Don *Philip*; or leave him in Possession of *Savoy* :

Or by way of Alternative, if that could not be at present obtain'd, That the Peace should be restor'd between the two Nations, both by Land and Sea, on the best and most solid Footing, with an Exception to *Italy*, where it should still be lawful for both Nations to continue the War, in such Manner, as should be held most conducive to their several Interests.

Now, Sir, one would have thought, that the Time was come, when the Two

M---l Factions which had so long divided the C-b---t on the opposite Points of War and Peace might have join'd Issue: For by espousing the last of these Proposals, the Former might have continued their Career with as much Fury as ever; and the Latter would have been enabled to furnish out sufficient Ways and Means to support them in it. For the immediate Consequences of our embracing it would have been that Separation of the Two Crowns which had been represented as such a killing Stroke to *France*; and our becoming once more the Favourite Nation: The Recovery of the *Spanish* Trade, would besides have given new Life to our Manufactures and Commerce: Wealth would have flow'd in on one Side, as it ebb'd out on the other. Our annual Gains would have supply'd our annual Waste: We should have had the *French West-India* Trade at our Mercy: Even on the Continent, we should have been able to have fac'd them on equal Terms: And when the general Aspect of our Affairs had taken so agreeable a Turn, there is not a Man in *England* who has the Honour of his King and Country at Heart, that would not have contributed any reasonable Proportion of his Means to have

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rais'd

rais'd it as high, as ever it had been rais'd in any Reign before.

It is not without the most sensible Concern, that I proceed to tell you the Rest. These Proposals so desir'd, so reasonable, so beneficial, were laid before the *Select* Part of the C---1; and after a due Time had been taken for Deliberation, they were rejected on the Point of Honour, which, as it was alledg'd by the NEW FAVOURITE, would not suffice his M-----y to do any thing without his *Allies*.

Now it is difficult to concieve, how the Interest of the *Allies* could be affected, by our Acceptance of the last of these Proposals: On the contrary, as every Link of the Chain, which held them together, seem'd to be forg'd of *English* Gold, every Measure which had a Tendency to enable *England* to keep it annually in Repairs, ought to have been esteem'd a *common* Measure, because manifestly conducive to the *common Interest*.

But the Word *Allies* ought to have been us'd in the singular Number, instead of the plural. For, in truth S---o was the only Power comprehended under it: And it was purely in Comple-
ment

ment to the *Gondamore* of that Court, residing here, and in Subserviency to his Views, that his Government both then and at all Times, has been induc'd to sacrifice the Interests of Great *Britain* whenever they interfer'd, or but seem'd to interfere with those of his Successor.

How a foreign Minister came to attain such an Ascendancy in the British Court; and for what Considerations a British Minister condescends to be his Tool, is very well understood at Court, and might be very easily and fully explain'd here, but that I am fearful of trespassing upon your Patience, and for that Reason hasten to a Close.

Many People have objected to the Treaty of *Worms*, on account of the Provision that was made in it to gratify the King of Sicily with the Marquisate of *Final*: They thought it was not over equitable to oblige a neutral, if not a friendly Power, to part with a Province, it was lawfully possess'd of, though for a valuable Consideration: And they thought it was not over politic, to suffer that Clause to be made public: Because it was easy to foresee what Use the Enemy would make of it, to spirit up the *Genoese*, both against the Empress Queen.

Queen and the K----- of S-----a. But then they gave way to the Necessities of the Times; and, with Regard to the Subsidy, which his S-----n M-----y at the same Time received from hence, and which was known to be equal to his whole Revenue, not a single Murmur escap'd from any Quarter whatsoever: On the contrary, the whole Nation seem'd pleas'd with an Opportunity of shewing their Esteem for a Prince, who was even more illustrious for his high Qualities than his high Birth

But even Friendship and Generosity ought to have a Bound: As far as we stand oblig'd by the Treaty of *Worms*, no doubt; we are bound in Honour to assist him to the utmost of our Power: But why new Conditions should be impos'd on us; and why we should not be suffer'd to embrace such Offers, as so manifestly regard our own Well-Being, unless we procure *Savona* for him, together with the whole *Riviera*, surpasses all Imagination.--- It will be answer'd, I know, that his Merits and Services deserve all this and more, and nobody will dispute the Eminence of either. But Merits and Services do not use to have so much Weight with his G--ce: And believe me,
Sir,

Sir, if the *Gondamar* abovementioned, had not been shamefully, I will not say traiterously, entrusted with so many Secrets, his M—f—r would not have been so much his Favourite.

In short, Sir, as in the Course of these Proceedings, my Lord had abundant Conviction, that he had been cheated with false Promises, that neither the Overtures of *France* or *Spain* were attended to: That, unless *Genoa* was destroyed in Complement to his M--- of S--- and by Way of *Hush-Money* to his M--n--r, no Peace was to be obtained; and that, consequently, neither Peace or War would be prosecuted upon an *English* Plan: And that all Hope, with Respect to the Public, was at an end; he once more adopted that delicate Sentiment of Mr. *Addison's*,

*When Vice prevails and impious Men
bear Sway,
The Post of Honour is a private Station.*

and resign'd on Saturday.

Happy at least, in so getting rid of the Uneasiness and Disgrace of being no better than a *Clerk* in his own *Office*; and

and as the Tenure of that Office, of being obliged to sign and seal, against his Conscience and his Country, under the Direction of those whom he neither lov'd or esteem'd; and who had only drawn him into a seeming Participation of their Iniquities, that they might deprive him of his Popularity, and establish a fatal Belief, that what Difference soever Nature had made in the Capacities of Men, all in their Hearts were corrupt, and prostitute alike!

Thus, Sir, I have done my Best to answer your Expectation, and hope, I have succeeded in it.— Why his L——p, who had so many Followers, when he went into Court, had none when he went out, you do not think it worth your while to enquire, nor I to explain.— He that has Honour and Virtue for his Companions, needs no other: And for those his L---p has left behind him, they are satisfy'd with the Profits and Emoluments of their Places, which, it is now manifest, was all they meant by those captivating Words, *Old England!* and *the Constitution!*

F I N I S.



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